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M. TULLII CICERONIS

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SIVE

DE SENECTUTE

EDITED BY

E. W. HOWSON, M.A.

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PREFACE

THIS edition does not require a long Preface. It is meant for the same purpose as Mr. Sidgwick's companion edition of the 'De Amicitia.' In drawing up the Notes, I have simply tried to give the kind and quantity of help which a master approves and a boy will understand. Beginners are easily discouraged and confused by a variety of readings and a crowd of references. Hence I have reduced matter of this kind to a minimum. The text is based mainly on that of Sommerbroodt and Reid.

My acknowledgments are due to all the chief editions of the work. It would be impossible to particularise. I have purposely refrained from adding a Vocabulary at the end. Every boy has a Dictionary, and should learn to use it.

As the Latin Primer question is still unsettled I have made no reference to any special Grammar.

E. W. HOWSON.

HARROW, *May* 1887.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1.—THE TIME WHEN THE DIALOGUE WAS WRITTEN.

IN reading the work of any author, but especially an ancient one, it is of the first importance to realise the conditions under which the work was written. And if we are to understand the mood in which Cicero composed this Dialogue we must try to picture to ourselves the time when it was written. Happily it is not in this case difficult to do so, for we know the date and the circumstances of its composition. Cicero was sad and anxious for private no less than public reasons. The Dialogue was written in the spring of B.C. 44. In the preceding year his home was filled with sorrow by the death of his favourite daughter Tullia. To Cicero's affectionate nature this was a heavy blow, and it may be that Cato's words about the death of his son (see § 12, § 85) are an indirect expression of Cicero's own feeling. But this was not all: his home had been broken up by two divorces, first from Terentia and then from Publilia. And if he turned from his domestic to his public life there was little or nothing to cheer him. Julius Caesar had just perished, stabbed to death on the Ides of March. Cicero, who viewed Caesar with profound distrust, may have been more appalled than disheartened by the news. He may have hoped that the old Republic would rally again and recover the constitutional position it held before Marius, Sulla and Caesar had overpowered it by military force.

But such hopes were soon disappointed. Antony was for the moment the master of the situation, and Cicero was afraid of him and his policy. It was clear that the restoration of the Republic, which was Cicero's cherished hope, was not Antony's immediate object or desire. Moreover, the two men were personal opponents, and Cicero could not help feeling that so long as Antony was in power he himself was in peril. From all this sorrow, anxiety, and alarm Cicero took refuge in study and composition. It amazes us to read the list of works which he wrote at this desperate crisis. Besides the two Essays on Old Age and Friendship, he found time to write a long theological work, in which he discussed the Nature of the Gods, the History of Divination, and the Laws of Fate. To his son he wrote a treatise called 'De Officiis,' and to his friend Atticus a work on 'Glory.'

§ 2.—THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE WORK.

For eighteen centuries this Dialogue has been one of the best known and most popular of classical writings. And this need not surprise us, for the subject is one of permanent interest, the essay is short and easy, and written with manifest pleasure, and in some passages, especially towards the close, there is the irresistible charm of noble language on a noble theme.[1] Montaigne, the French Essayist, said of it, 'il donne l'appetit de vieiller,' and though we may not all share his enthusiasm, no thoughtful reader can escape the infection of the cheerful spirit which pervades it.

The treatise is in the form of an imaginary dialogue. Cato, Scipio, and Laelius are the *dramatis personae*, and it is supposed to take place B.C. 150, when Cato was 83, and the other two between 30 and 40 years old. The idea of a

[1] Sir John Denham, the author of 'Cooper's Hill,' took the pains to translate the work into rhyming heroics.

dialogue was of course no new one. It was borrowed from Plato as a convenient and picturesque way of discussing a question from various points of view. But Cicero never succeeded in catching the dramatic charm of Plato. In the present case, for example, there is nothing interesting in the characters of Scipio and Laelius. They take little part in the discussion, and Cato falls too soon into a monologue, unenlivened by question and reply.

§ 3.—THE ARGUMENT OF THE DIALOGUE.

We may regard the work from two points of view, in its literary and philosophic aspect, and though in a work of this kind the former is usually, and reasonably, quite subordinate to the latter, yet in the case of the 'De Senectute,' the one is almost as important as the other. The fact is that Cicero was not so much a philosopher as a master of style, and we may read this treatise with great advantage for the mere sake of its graceful and lucid Latinity. Of this something will be said later on.

But it would clearly be a great mistake to lose sight of the thought in studying the words that express them. And this leads us to consider the line of argument which Cicero pursues. Speaking generally, he wishes to prove that an old man can be *useful*, *strong*, and *happy*, and he does this by examining one by one the chief complaints usually urged against Old Age. They are stated and answered by Cato alone, and it is a great pity, from the dramatic point of view, that the Dialogue ends where the refutation of these complaints begins.

It is unnecessary to repeat here the analysis which you will find given with the text, but it may be of some use to give a short criticism of the methods and arguments employed. Notice first how rich the Dialogue is in biographical illustration. Old Age is treated almost like a client in a case of libel, and Cato summons the great men of Rome and Greece as witnesses on his client's behalf. 'Do you urge,'

he seems to say, 'that Old Age has no pleasure because it has no passions? I call Sophocles and Curius to disprove it. Do you say that age incapacitates men for public business? I call Fabius and Metellus. Are old men always infirm? Here is Masinissa. Does an old man lose the power of thinking and writing? I call Gorgias and Plato and Ennius.'

Secondly, you cannot fail to observe how largely Cicero draws from the writings of the Greeks. You will hardly find it possible to appreciate the Dialogue unless you first learn something of what was taught by *Plato* and the *Stoics*. The Romans in the days of Cicero were sorely in need of a religion in which they could believe. They had no longer any living faith in Faunus or Terminus, or even Juppiter and Diana. And as men in time of sorrow and old age crave some religious comfort, they turned for help to the speculations of the Greeks. Cicero did his countrymen a great service by making these old thoughts and theories live again in his translations. He had no very fixed convictions of his own, but he made his readers think seriously. His tendency was to choose out and blend together the best lessons from Plato and the Stoics, and we find this to be true in a marked degree in the case of the 'De Senectute.'

Cato is such a prominent figure in the work that we will take Stoicism first. The great maxim of this philosophy was 'Live according to Nature.' By this the Stoics meant that men must order their lives in obedience to the laws of Nature. This was the royal road to happiness and required the exercise of four chief virtues—*Justice*, *Wisdom*, *Bravery*, *Temperance*. This last virtue is insisted on with special emphasis in this dialogue. A happy old age is declared to be impossible if it is not founded on a temperate youth. The Stoic found in himself alone the source of happiness, '*a se ipse omnia bona petit*'; and his aim was to make himself independent of external pleasures and pains. He considered that in certain cases a man was perfectly justified in committing suicide, but that for most men it was as much

an act of treason as for a soldier, *iniussu imperatoris*, to leave his post. Lastly, they taught their disciples that the highest and most divine life was one absorbed in the contemplation of Nature, *caelestium ordinem contemplantes*, and imitating her regularity and consistency.

A very few words must now be added on one or two points of Plato's philosophy. Throughout the Dialogue there are many allusions and translations from Plato, especially from the 'Republic.' But at the end we have, so to speak, a summary of Plato's views on the Immortality of the Soul. Let me try to state those views as simply as I can. In facing this tremendous problem Plato had, you must remember, no revelation to guide him such as we have in the Bible, but he came to the conclusion that our souls were distinct from our bodies, and of such a nature that they cannot die. The arguments he used to prove this were three—(1) The soul is entire master of its own movements, *i.e.* our thoughts and wills are perfectly free, but if a thing can move itself when it likes, it may move itself for ever, and so may be considered immortal; (2) Our souls are not, as far as we can see, made up of different parts which can decay and fall to pieces like a thing of earthly make: the soul is a perfect whole, and cannot be broken up; (3) The soul, especially in childhood, appears to remember a state of life before birth. Much of our knowledge appears to be born with us, we do not learn it here, but it comes natural to us, as if it had belonged to us before. If then we existed before our birth, we may fairly argue that there is probably a life in store for us after this life here is over. In connection with this you ought certainly to read Wordsworth's 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality.' If these arguments are sound we may regard our souls as passing a short time here as a traveller does at an inn (*hospitium*), or a sentry at his post, and like sentries we must stay at our posts till we are relieved.

§ 4.—THE CHARACTERS IN THE DIALOGUE.

(*a*) This Introduction would not be complete without some account of the leading characters, and especially of Cato. Cicero had probably two objects in view when he selected this remarkable man as the exponent of his views. In the first place, he was a most excellent instance of a vigorous old man; and secondly, he was a representative of the days when the Roman Republic was at its best. You must take care not to confuse the two Catos,—*Cato Uticensis*, so called because he committed suicide at Utica sooner than yield to Julius Caesar, and *M. Porcius Cato*, his grandfather, who is the chief character in the 'De Senectute.' The latter was born about B.C. 234, of a military family, and at the age of 20 he joined the Roman army. The Second Punic War was then at its height. Hannibal was ravaging Italy, and Fabius was the great general of the day, and under him the young Cato assisted in the capture of Tarentum, B.C. 209. Two years later he fought at the battle of the Metaurus, where Hasdrubal was defeated and killed. In 206 he was appointed Quaestor in Sicily under P. Corn. Scipio. Seven years after this he became Praetor, and received the province of Sardinia, where, as in Sicily, his administration was characterised by inflexible economy and simplicity. In B.C. 193 he was elected Consul with Valerius Flaccus, and this time the province of Spain fell to his lot. On his return he celebrated a triumph. In 191 he went to Greece on the staff of M' Acilius Glabrio to fight Antiochus the Great, who had invaded that country at the instigation of Hannibal. It was on this occasion that he, with only one companion, performed a daring exploit at Thermopylae. They went out by night along a bypath to the head of the pass, surprised the troops of Antiochus, and led their own to victory. Cato was allowed the honour of reporting this success at Rome in person. He landed at Brundisium, and in five days reached the capital on foot. In B.C. 185 he was

appointed Censor, and it is for his conduct of this office that we know him best. He purged the Senate of corrupt and immoral members, improved the water-supply, and taxed the extravagant luxuries of the rich.

His contempt and suspicion of Greek life and literature are well known, and if he had had his way he would have expelled every Greek from Italy. He feared that the subtleties of Greek philosophy, which had been introduced and fostered by Scipio and his friends, would weaken the moral fibre of his countrymen, and confuse their ideas of right and wrong. It seems strange therefore that Cicero should have put into Cato's mouth so many quotations from Plato and Xenophon. We may explain it by the fact that in his later years Cato took up the study of Greek mainly perhaps for the sake of his son's education. But though he was such an exclusive and uncompromising Roman, he was always on the side of justice and clemency towards the provincials. In illustration of this it should not be forgotten that his last public act was to speak in behalf of the Lusitani who had been the victims of Galba's treachery in B.C. 149.

It is always interesting to picture to ourselves, if we can, the *personality* of a historical character. In Cato's case, with the help of Plutarch, we can form a very distinct idea of the man. Think of a tall man with red hair (*πυῤῥόν*), and a fierce expression (*γαῦρος τῷ προσώπῳ*), and a body spare and muscular with vigorous exercise. His conversation was sarcastic (*παυδακέτην*) and spiced with wit and contempt. In dress he was severely plain. 'I never,' said he, 'when I was young paid more than 100 drachmae for my clothes.' He could not bear idleness in himself or others. He rarely allowed himself more than one servant, and he always carried his own weapons in war. On seeing a crowd of idlers, 'I wish,' he cried, 'that the Forum was paved with shells.' For gluttony too he seems to have had a special dislike. Once when speaking of a *bon-vivant* he exclaimed, 'I never could live with a man whose palate was

more sensitive than his heart,' and on another occasion, while the rabble were clamouring for fresh largesses, he said, 'It is ill work talking to a belly that has no ears.' In his own life he was most abstemious, very seldom drank wine, and if he did it was the common wine which the poorest soldiers had. In political views he was a staunch republican, and he once contemptuously defined a king as a creature who fed on flesh (*σαρκόφαγον ζῷον*). His rugged nature allowed little play to emotion and tenderness. He used his servants like beasts of burden—*τοῖς οἰκεταῖς ὡς ὑποζυγιοίς ἀποχρησάμενον*; and he would even say with a smile that he never embraced his wife but once, and that was in a thunderstorm, to show that he was unconcerned when Jove was thundering. For his own son, it is true, he had the tenderest affection, and he even superintended his washing in the nursery; in his behalf also he set himself to learn Greek, a language for which he had always felt a violent dislike. He was an eloquent man, and his contemporaries, we are told, used to call him *Ῥωμαῖον Δημοσθένη*—the Roman Demosthenes. Such was Cato—a shrewd, austere, scornful, imperious man. He stands out in rough contrast to the times in which he lived, a living protest in favour of simplicity and integrity among a people who were fast becoming enervated by corruption and luxury.

(*b*) Of the other two characters, Scipio and Laelius, I need say but little. They were affectionate friends, and the 'De Amicitia' is a monument of their friendship. Scipio was not by blood a Scipio. His full name was Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, and it forms, as it were, an epitome of his life, for he was a Scipio by adoption, Aemilianus by birth, Africanus by conquest, Minor to distinguish him from his grandfather (by adoption), the great conqueror of Hannibal. He was the adopted son of the eldest son of Scipio Africanus Major. His real father was L. Aemilius Paullus, who conquered Perseus at Pydna, and in this battle the young Scipio fought with distinction when he was only 16 years old. He was a man

of very varied powers, a good officer, a bold statesman, with a genuine love for Greek thought and literature, and to Cicero he appeared the pattern of all a Roman should be.

(*c*) Laelius was about the same age as Scipio, had the same tastes, though not the same powers. He took part in the campaign against Viriathus in Spain. His cognomen was Sapiens.

§ 5.—NOTES ON CICERO'S STYLE.

I propose to add in conclusion a few remarks on the style of Cicero, as illustrated in this Dialogue. We read some authors without close regard to the words they used and the style in which they wrote. But with Cicero it is different. It is not enough to master *what* he says: we ought also to study *how* he says it. The style in which a man writes is illustrative of his character. Caesar's Commentaries, for instance, are like Caesar,—direct, simple, clear. So likewise you can read Cicero's character in his language. It is rhetorical throughout. Even when he is discussing a point of philosophy we seem to be listening to speech in the law-court or senate. The words are carefully balanced, the arguments dressed out to the best advantage, every phrase seems arranged on a definite principle.

(1) Notice the structure of the *Period.* The Period is a long stately sentence, each part of which is inseparably connected with the rest. It is more characteristic of an oratorical than a historical style, and Cicero used it with great effect. Instances of the Period may be found in §§ 9, 41, 63, 72. Remember that in translating such passages into English, you must break them into shorter clauses, as we prefer detached sentences to the long roll of the Period.

(2) *The Order of the words.*—The natural order of a Latin sentence is—(1) Subject; (2) Object; (3) Verb. But this is continually changed for the sake of giving emphasis

or vivacity. In translating try to preserve this emphasis in the English order. Look out the position of the following words: § 5, sapienti; § 20, senatum; § 28, orator; § 44, puer; § 12, neminem; § 33, vivum.

(3) A common device of Cicero's style is the use of what is called *asyndeton*, that is, the omission of the Copula: §§ 17, 19, 38, 63.

(4.) *Repetition* or *Anaphora*.—This is very noticeable in rhetorical writing. The same word is repeated to give force to the sentence. See § 22, quid; § 23, Num; § 27, Nihil; § 32, non.

(4) *The position of the Negative*.—This was generally placed as early in the sentence as possible: *e.g.* § 17, nihil, Non; § 30, nihil; § 70, Neque.

(5) *Pleonasm*.—We often find that Cicero gives fulness and weight to his sentences by adding a word or words which seem at first sight superfluous: § 28, quietus et remissus; § 77, ratio ac disputatio; § 78, reminisci et recordari; § 81, remissi et liberi, tuentur et regunt.

(6) *Chiasmus*.—This device, though it strictly comes under the head of No. 2, deserves special notice. It is the term used to describe two parallel clauses in which the order of the words is reversed. See § 26, iners sit . . . sit operosa; § 48, adulescentia laetatur . . . delectatur senectus; § 77, aetatum occidunt . . . occidunt senectutis.

PREFACE.

I dedicate this treatise to you, Atticus. It may help us both to meet the approach of old age.

The dialogue is imaginary, but the characters historical.

I. O Tite, si quid te adiuero curamve levasso, 1
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum,

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque.

Novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus, quibus me ipsum, interdum gravius commoveri; quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.

Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, 2
aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me etiam ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice

ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur digne satis laudari philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere.

3 Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus; hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Cius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, id tribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

THE DIALOGUE.

SCIPIO. *Why do you find old age so easy to bear?*

CATO. *A man possesses in himself the secret of happiness if he is wise enough to follow Nature as his guide. Like plants we ripen and decay.*

II. SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc 4
C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

CATO. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturae necessitas adferat; quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur, omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius, quam putassent. Primum, quis coëgit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus, quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde, qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa,

cum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem.

5 Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis—quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!—in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit, esse aliquid extremum et, tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum; quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis, nisi naturae repugnare?

LAELIUS. *Pray give us the benefit of your experience.*

6 LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

CATO. *My contemporaries often complain that age deprives them of pleasure and friends—the fault is in their disposition, not their years.*

7 III. CATO. Faciam, ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querellis aequalium meorum—pares autem vetere

proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur—quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu; quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istiusmodi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

LAELIUS. *Does not your social position help you?*

CATO. *Partly—a pauper or a fool cannot enjoy old age. Self-culture and a good conscience are an old man's best armour.*

LAELIUS. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit **8** quispiam, tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri; id autem non posse multis contingere.

CATO. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid; sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset, non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus unquam fuisses.' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis.

9 Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos efferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis—quamquam id quidem maximum est,—verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

Think of Fabius. He was an old man when he spoke in the Senate and defied Hannibal. How wise he was in war, how ready with retort, how bravely he bore his son's death, how great his learning, how charming his conversation!

10 IV. Ego Quintum Maximum, eum, qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat. Quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum; cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius;

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem,
Ergo priusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! 11
cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fuerat in arce, glorianti atque ita dicenti: 'Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti'; 'Certe,' inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior, quam in toga; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio, tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti, augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est, optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri.

Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admi- 12
rabilius, quam quomodo ille mortem filii tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio; quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo! quae praecepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae; omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita cupide fruebar tum quasi iam divinarem id, quod evenit, illo exstincto fore, unde discerem, neminem.

Think again of the serene activity of Plato at 81, *Isocrates at* 94, *Gorgias at* 107, *or of Ennius, whose poverty was no bar to happiness at* 70.

V. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia 13
profecto videtis, nefas esse dictu, miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos

recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'Nihil habeo,' inquit, 'quod accusem senectutem.'

14 Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

> Sic ut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit:

equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego, quinque et sexaginta annos natus, legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus—tot enim vixit Ennius—ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

The four main charges against Age—(1) *Incapacity for work;* (2) *Physical weakness;* (3) *Loss of pleasure;* (4) *Proximity to death.*

Etenim, cum conplector animo, quattuor reperio causas, cur senectus misera videatur, 15

unam quod avocet a rebus gerendis,
alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius,
tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus,
quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte.

Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta unaquaeque, videamus.

First charge: Incapacity for work. This refuted by the lives of Fabius, Fabricius, etc., or Appius Claudius, who, spite of blindness and age, was the stay of the wavering Senate.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? an eis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? nihil L. Paullus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, filii mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant?

16 Ad Appii Claudii senectutem accédebat etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; etiam ipsius Appii exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur, Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse eum, sicut a patribus accepimus.

Bodily prowess belongs to youth—wisdom to age. I, for instance, advise the Senate now that I no longer fight in the field.

17 Nihil igitur adferunt, qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea, quae iuvenes; at vero multa maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia, quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet.

18 Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senatui, quae sint gerenda, praescribo, et quomodo; Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua

vereri non ante desinam, quam illam exscisam esse cognovero.

Emulate, Scipio, your grandfather. Had he lived, he would have shown that wisdom by which old men preserve and govern states.

Quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi 19
reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte quintus hic et tricesimus annus est; sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, decem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum.

Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii, qui amplissimum 20
magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

Sic enim percontantur illi in Naevii poetae Ludo; respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

Do you say memory fails? Not if it is exercised. Mine is as good as ever. Think of the memory of public men, or of cases like that of Sophocles before his judges.

21 VII. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos; nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia, quae curant, meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant.

22 Quid iurisconsulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus.

How do you account for all the poets and philosophers whose activity lasted as long as their life, or for the many old men in my neighbourhood who are the most active promoters of agriculture?

Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, 23
Simonidem, Stesichorum, num, quos ante dixi, Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum coëgit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit?

Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nomi- 24
nare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex, qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed iidem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere.

Serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis.

Statius complains that old men see things they disapprove and become tiresome to their friends. But surely old and young can find pleasure in each other's society, and an old man can always be learning as Solon did and as I do now.

Nec vero dubitet agricola quamvis sit senex, quae- 25
renti, cui serat, respondere: Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente, quam illud idem :

Edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
Apportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est,
Quod diu vivendo multa, quae non volt, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quae volt. Atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius :

Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
Sentire ea aetate eumpse esse odiosum alteri.

26 Iucundum potius, quam odiosum. Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intellego me vobis, quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi essent nota, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud—discebant enim fidibus antiqui—, sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

Second charge: Physical weakness. I reply that no old man expects or desires the bodily strength of his youth.

IX. Ne nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis 27
(is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis), non plus, quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et, quidquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior, quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui, cum iam senex esset, athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, adspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse: 'At hi quidem mortui iam sunt.' Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator. Neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur: quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

The orator may lose his strength of voice—still a quiet delivery suits an old man best. If he cannot speak, he can teach and train others. Weakness in age is generally due to excess in youth.

Orator metuo ne languescat senectute: est enim 28
munus eius non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit

etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute: quod equidem adhuc non amisi; et videtis annos; sed tamen est decorus seni sermo quietus et remissus, facitque per se ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid est enim iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis.

29 An ne illas quidem vires senectuti relinquemus, ut adulescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis. Libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti.

Cyrus and Metellus never felt weaker in old age. Homer tells us that Nestor, in spite of his years, was more valuable than Ajax.

I am still vigorous, and do not believe in giving in to age before my time.

30 Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse, senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requi-

reret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor 31
de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim iam aetatem hominum videbat; nec erat ei verendum, ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio; quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Aiacis similes habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat, quin brevi sit Troia peritura.

Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesi- 32
mum; vellem equidem idem possem gloriari, quod Cyrus; sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem eis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopolas M'. Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit nec adflixit senectus; non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus.

I would rather be Pythagoras than Milo—every age has its own function. Masinissa, I know, was marvellously strong at 90, *but such powers are not a necessity.*

33 At minus habeo virium, quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque, nitatur: ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; cum absit, ne requiras; nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat.

34 Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie, nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; cum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem; itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Non sunt in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis, quae non possunt sine

viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur.

Weak health is not peculiar to old men. Age must be resisted like a disease, and we must exercise mind and body as a prevention against dotage.

At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum officii aut 35
omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra morborum sic contra senectutis vim.

Habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus 36
modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis. Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius

comicos stultos senes,

hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium, quam senum, nec tamen omnium adu-

lescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium.

Old Appius Claudius governed his house to the last with wonderful vigour. My ideal old man is one who combines the vigour of youth with the dignity of age, and this too is why I write and study.

37 Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum, tamquam arcum, habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo patrii moris disciplina.

38 Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem, in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adulescentis, probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus; omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum illustrium, quascunque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis; venio in senatum frequens, ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque

tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quae si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur, quando obrepat senectus; ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

Third charge: Loss of pleasure. This is rather a gain than loss; for, as Archytas said, the love of pleasure is the source of treason and lust, and is the enemy of reason. Passion and Reason cannot live together. Thanks to Old Age for modifying such passion as that for which I punished Flamininus.

39 XII. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est, cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae libidines temere et effrenate ad potiendum incitarentur.

40 Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis. Cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem.

41 Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum

esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, si quidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consule superati sunt, locutum Archytam, Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis; quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo, Appio Claudio consulibus reperio.

Quorsus hoc? ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem asper- 42
nari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam esse senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem, septem annis post quam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est, mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperii dedecus.

I have heard of an Athenian philosopher who taught that pleasure was the standard of right and wrong. Men like Decius seem to prove that the Good and Beautiful are independent of pleasure.

43 XIII. Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea, esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere, omnia, quae faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quod facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro republica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius, quem dico, Decii facto iudicabant, esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur.

Age in losing pleasure loses also its evil consequences. Still an old man can enjoy festivities; e.g. *I take great delight in clubs and banquets, far more of course for the society than the mere feasting. It is a pleasure to dine even with younger men, and at my Sabine villa such entertainments are common.*

44 Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis.

Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus—divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces—, quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duillium, Marci filium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria.

Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam revertar. 45
Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem Magnae Matris me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus, omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis; qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis, quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tem- 46
pestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum; habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus), non intellego, ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus, carere sensu senectutem.

Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus.

To be released from the stirrings of passion is a blessing. Youth craves for the immediate prospect of pleasure, age is content with a more distant view.

47 At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo; sed ne desideratio quidem. Nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora! inquit; ego vero libenter istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius.

48 Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis, quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum, quantum sat est.

What can be happier than an old age which devotes its leisure to noble sciences like astronomy, or other pursuits such as poetry, philosophy, and oratory?

At illa quanti sunt, animum, tanquam emeritis stipen- 49
diis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Mori videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum, defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere!

Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam 50
gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui cum sex annis ante, quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar? aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnes, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte Suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod

ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

Agriculture is another study which old men can enjoy to the full—the stages of growth are deeply interesting. I cannot stay to describe the various processes of grafting, budding, and pruning. How beautiful is the growth, how interesting the culture, of the vine! Homer represents Laertes as consoling his grief by agriculture. Curius, the noble conqueror of the Sabines, spent his last years in this pursuit. Cincinnatus was fond of it—it secures health, happiness, and prosperity. Let young men keep their interests and old men theirs. The story Xenophon tells of Lysander and Cyrus shows how much the latter thought of agriculture. Corvinus pursued it till his hundredth year.

51 XV. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit, culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici

ordine structam, et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum.

Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa comme- 52
morem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requiem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum ac stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet; malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne ea efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est, et, nisi fulta est, ad terram fertur, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus, quidquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur.

Itaque ineunte vere in eis, quae relicta sunt, exsistit 53
tanquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dicitur; a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum adspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, et natura ipsa sed etiam cultura delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior?

Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo 54
libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi. De qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri

scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

55 XVI. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum; sed haec ipsa, quae dixi, sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans—abest enim non longe a me—admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt. Non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis, qui haberent aurum, imperare.

56 Poteratne tantus animus non efficere iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes; siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est, eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, regnum appetentem, occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes; ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblec-

tabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio, an nulla beatior possit esse; neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est; abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio.

Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus 57
aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius?

Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi 58
clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine his beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, 59
quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agricultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui 'Oeconomicus' inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis, nihil ei tam regale videri, quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem

ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui adflarentur e floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius, a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: 'Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.'

60 Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit, quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit. Atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior, quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas.

Authority such as Corvinus and Metellus enjoyed is the crown of age, and is worth more than pleasure. I am only speaking of an old age which is the outcome of a virtuous youth. At Sparta especial respect was paid to age—so again age is treated with marked reverence by the College of Augurs.

Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in A. 61
Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium;

Hunc unum plurimae co sentiunt gentes
Popli primarium fu ise virum.

Notum est totum carmen, incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paullo aut Africano loquar? aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit, quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. Sed in omni oratione mementote, eam me 62
senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id, quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem, quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos.

Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia 63
atque communia, salutaria, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civi-

tatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno concessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus: cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse.

64 Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam, Athenienses scire, quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

Peevishness is the result of natural disposition, not of old age. Avarice is absurd in old men.

65 At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari. Sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa

omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet; ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis hominum natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, et eam, sicut alia, modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo.

Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego. 66
Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius, quam, quo viae minus restat, eo plus viatici quaerere?

Fourth charge: Proximity to death. Is death really terrible? It brings either annihilation or happiness—even were death terrible, youths must feel even more alarm than old men, as they run more risks by accident and disease.

An old man is better off than a young one—the first has reached the long life he wished, the latter never knows if he will reach it.

Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit; quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest.

67 Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum, se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures, quam nostra, mortis casus habet. Facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed

redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune?

Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplis- 68
simam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens, diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius, quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione, quam adulescens, quoniam id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est. Ille volt diu vivere, hic diu vixit.

Life, however long, must come to an end some day; let us each be content with our share. A life can be good without being long, and if it is long why complain, any more than a farmer when autumn is come? Nature is our guide, and it is according to her law that what is old and ripe should fall and die.

Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis natura 69
diu? Da enim supremum tempus; exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem; fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum viginti vixit; sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis; horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni; nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus.

70 Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapientibus usque ad '*plaudite*' veniendum. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros; reliqua tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt.

71 Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam, quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

Age is bolder than youth, as it has no further stage in view. Our creation and dissolution are both the work of Nature.

72 Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis mortemque contemnere; ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam

senectus sit, quam adulescentia, et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur 'senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quae conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit.

Suicide is wrong, and mourning for the dead unnecessary.

Vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, 73
de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis. Sed haud scio, an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
> Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur.

A man must realise the meaning of death, or he will live in constant terror. Brutus, Scipio, Regulus faced death, so do our common illiterate soldiers, why then should an old man fear it?

Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad 74
exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem

sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus ; sine qua meditatione tranquillo esse animo potest nemo. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum, an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere ?

75 De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recordor, non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paullum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ii quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent ?

Each stage of life has its proper tastes ; when these fail, life is a weariness.

76 Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae certa studia : num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes ? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae : num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur ? Sunt etiam eius aetatis : ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis ; ergo, ut superiorum aeta-

tum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

My own reason and the authority of great philosophers convince me that our souls are exiles from heaven imprisoned in our bodies.

Equidem non video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, 77
non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tu P. Scipio, tuque, C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo, deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit, ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

Plato's arguments for immortality of the soul: (1) *it moves itself;* (2) *it is indivisible;* (3) *it bears traces of a state before birth.*

Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene 78
nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea, quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immor-

talitate animorum disseruisset, is, qui esset omnium sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo iudicatus. Quid multa? sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem; cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et, cum simplex animi esset natura neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento, homines scire pleraque ante, quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

Cyrus's last words. The soul can be alive without being visible. It is so now and it will be hereafter. The honour we pay to the dead implies that they are still able to influence us. The soul is purged when it leaves the body. We know the fate of our bodies but not of our souls. Sleep is so like death that the state of the soul in death may well resemble its state in sleep.

79 Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Neque enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis; sed eum esse in hoc corpore, ex eis rebus, quas gerebam, intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiamsi nullum videbitis.

Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores 80
permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit, animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori, nec vero, tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed, cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus, purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum, perspicuum est, quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim omnia illuc, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec, cum adest, nec, cum discedit, apparet.

Iam vero videtis, nihil esse morti tam simile, quam 81
somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur, quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote, ut deum; sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

Who would lead a laborious life if he had no future life in view?

Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra 82
videamus. Nemo mihi umquam, Scipio, persuadebit, aut patrem tuum Paullum aut duos avos, Paullum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent, posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere.

An censes—ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier —, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si eisdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset, otiosam et quietam aetatem sine ullo aut labore aut contentione traducere? Sed nescio quomodo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem et gloriam niteretur.

A wise man anticipates his future life with pleasure. I would not, if I could, become young again. Life, though enjoyable, is an inn, not a home. I look forward to meeting my son again.

83 Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi; neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane facile quis retraxerit, nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit; et, si quis deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem, nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.

Such are my consolations. If I am in error I prefer to remain so. May you live to prove the truth of my words!

Quid enim vita habet commodi? quid non potius 84
laboris? Sed habeat sane; habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt; neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo, tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam ex domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis non habitandi dedit.

O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum 85
concilium coetumque proficiscar, cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum —quod contra decuit ab illo meum—, animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar, existimans, non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

His mihi rebus, Scipio,—id enim te cum Laelio 86
admirari solere dixisti,—levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro, nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus

immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defectionem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis!

NOTES

NOTES.

1. O Tite . . . praemi. A quotation from the *Annals* of Ennius, a poem in hexameter verse on the History of Rome. The lines occur in Book x., and are spoken by a shepherd who offers to show Titus Quinctius Flamininus the way over the mountains into Thessaly during the war against Philip of Macedon in B.C. 197. Cicero applies them gracefully to his friend Atticus, whose name was also Titus.

aditivero = *adiūvero*. So *audīerim* and *audiverim*.

levasso, an old future form like the Greek in *-σω*. Cf. *faxo* = *fac-so*. The *s* was doubled with *a*-stems, e.g. *amasso*, perhaps in imitation of such forms as *amasse*, perhaps to avoid a single *s* between two vowels.

coquit. The metaphor is vague, 'vexes and disturbs.' So Verg. *Aen.* vii. 344: 'Foemineae ardentem curaeque iraeque *coquebant*.'

versat. The last syllable of the third pers. sing. was regarded as common by the early poets, and often by Vergil. So *ponebat* below, § **10.**

praemi. Until the time of Augustus stems in *-io* formed the genitive in *-i*. Ovid, Propertius, and Lucan use *-ii*.

re = *re familiari*, 'of great possessions.'

plenus. This elision of the final *-s* is found continually in the early poets, but it fell out of fashion. Cic. Orator. c. 48, § 161, says, 'Iam *subrusticum* videtur, olim autem politius.' We find the *s* usually retained in the MSS. of Lucretius.

Quamquam = 'and yet.' So *etsi* and *nisi* are used to modify a previous statement.

aequitatem, 'balance.'

cognomen, *i.e.* Atticus. Such cognomina were common, *e.g.* Africanus, Cato, Afer, Naso. Titus Pomponius Atticus was a conspicuous character in Cicero's time. He never took office, but was a friend of all the leading statesmen,

Pompey, Caesar, Cicero, and Augustus. He received his cognomen from his generosity to the Athenians, and his long residence among them. The letters which Cicero wrote to him have been preserved, and give us a vivid picture of the age.

deportasse, 'brought home'; *de* like the Greek κατά.

eisdem rebus. Caesar had just been assassinated, and no one knew what Antony would do. See Introduction, § 1.

quibus me ipsum. We might expect *ego ipse*, but *te* attracts *me ipsum* to its own case.

quarum, objective gen.

maior, *i.e.* greater than this dialogue can give you.

2. commune. Atticus was now 65, Cicero 60.

onere. Why ablative?

eo munere, 'such a present as we might both enjoy.'

confectio, 'composition.'

effecerit mollem, etc. So Cicero says in one of his letters to Atticus (xiv. 21): 'Legendus mihi saepius est Cato Maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit.'

cui qui=cum si quis ei. Why are *pareat* and *possit* in subj.?

3. Tithono. At the request of Aurora, whom he loved, Tithonus was granted eternal life, but without eternal youth. Read Tennyson's poem 'Tithonus.'

Aristo, a native of Ceos, one of the Cyclades (B.C. 250). He was a peripatetic philosopher, *i.e.* a disciple of Aristotle, who walked as he lectured. None of his writings have come down to us.

apud, 'at the house of.' Greek, παρά; French, *chez*.

facimus, 'represent.' So *induco*.

libris:—1. De re rustica; 2. Origines; 3. Speeches. We only possess fragments of the two first.

perstudiosum. Cato acquired Greek late in life for the education of his son. Cf. παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὀψιμαθής, Plutarch, Cato, c. 2.

4. quod senserim, 'because *I think* I have noticed'—the clause is virtually sub-oblique. What would *quod sensi* mean?

Aetna. Eur. Herc. Fur. 637, ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας αἰεὶ βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων.

in ipsis opis. Gk. αὐτάρκεια. Here we have the Stoic

doctrine that the wise man is independent of external pains and pleasures.

adferat quod : quod = *si id*, hence the subj. mood.

adeptam. Cicero never uses *adeptus* passively elsewhere, though it is found in Tacitus and Ovid, and we have the analogy of *comitatus*, *dimensus*, *meditatus*, etc. A few MSS. give *adepti*. Many editors think that this is one of the archaisms affected in this dialogue to imitate Cato's style. Other instances may be found in § 6, *quam* after the gerund, § 71 the use of *quasi*, § 72 *audaciter*.

aiunt, *i.e. stulti*, understood from *stultitiae*, which is equivalent to *stultorum*. Abstract for concrete, cf. §§ 26, 75.

putassent. Why subj. ?

falsum putare, 'to have false ideas.'

adulescentiae. What case? Why? *Pueritia* ended at 16, *adulescentia* at 30, *juventus* at 45, *senectus* began at 60.

5. cognomine, *i.e. Sapiens*. Cato is itself a cognomen, 'the shrewd,' connected with *catus*.

ducem. So de Amicit. § 19: 'Natura optima *bene vivendi dux*.' It is the Stoic doctrine, '*secundum Naturam vivere*.

descriptae, 'apportioned.'

in, 'in the case of.'

caducum. Cf. Shakspeare, Merch. of Venice:

'The ripest kind of fruit
Falls earliest to the ground.'

molliter, 'with compliance.'

Quid . . . repugnare. In the English idiom we should invert the sentence: 'Rebellion against nature is nothing else but war with the gods.'

6. quam ingrediundum sit. This is a use of the gerund very rarely, if ever, found in Cicero. Instances occur in Lucretius. The natural form of the sentence would be *quae ingrediunda sit*. See on *adeptam*, § 4.

istuc, a neuter pronoun.

Volumus . . . sit. The passage is an echo of Plat. *Rep.* I, 328 E: *δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν* (*i.e. γερόντων*) *πυνθάνεσθαι ὥσπερ τινα ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεήσει πορεύεσθαι.*

7. pares. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xvii. 218:

ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

Salinator, admiral of the fleet in the war against Antiochus, B.C. 191.

Albinus. Consul B.C. 186. He brought to light the scandals of the Bacchanalian worship at Rome, and succeeded in having it suppressed.

consulares, 'ex-consuls.' Among other privileges they had the right to vote before other senators.

carerent . . . putarent . . . spernerentur. Why subj.? Cf. *quod senserim*, § 4.

quod esset accusandum: *quod* = *tale quod*. So **qui . . . ferret.**

et . . . non, for the usual *nec*.

importunitas, 'peevishness.'

8. dixerit. This is a completed future, not a perfect subjunctive. The protasis is suppressed.

opis, etc.: 'power, wealth, and rank.'

contingere, 'the *natural* lot of many.'

Seriphio, 'of Seriphos,' one of the Cyclades, now Serpho It was often taken as a type of unimportant places, *e.g* Arist. Acharn. 542, *κυνίδιον Σεριφίων*.

iurgio, 'a *verbal* quarrel.'

Nec hercule, etc. This story is taken from Plato, *Rep.* i. 329 E, and Plutarch in his life of Themistocles gives the same version. But Herodotus, viii. 125, tells it differently. According to him the retort was made to a man of Belbina (a small island off C. Sunium) who had attributed the grand reception of Themistocles at Sparta to the fact of his being an Athenian: *οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης, replied* Themistocles, *ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ, ἄνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.* Themistocles of course meant that his fame was due to his character as well as his nationality.

9. arma, 'defensive weapons.'

cultae, 'if developed.'

eoferunt, an older form for *efferunt*. Cf. *ecfrenate*, § 39.

10. recepit. Tarentum was recaptured in B.C. 209 from the Carthaginians, who had held it for three years.

condita. Parse this word.

colere. This word implies the respect of a young man fo his elder, or a client for his pat on.

Anno, etc. The following dates will make the passage clear:
—B.C. 234. Fabius' 1st consulship.
,, 232. Cato born.
,, 214. Fabius' 4th consulship. Cato under him at Capua.
,, 209. Fabius takes Tarentum.
,, 204. Fabius supports the Lex Cincia.

miles, 'a private.'

ad Capuam = 'to the country round Capua,' else there would be no preposition. So in a letter to Atticus, vii. § 3, Cicero uses the phrase *in Piraea exire*, and adds, '*non hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco.*'

suasor, 'spoke in support of.'

legis, a law by which the receipt of gifts or money for pleading in court was prohibited. It was passed by a vote of the people when M. Cincius Alimentus was tribune. Hence its title.

iuveniliter, 'reduced the youthful impetuosity of Hannibal.' Hannibal was 30 years old.

familiaris. Cato made the acquaintance of Ennius in Sardinia. See Introduction, § 4 (*a*).

Unus homo. A quotation from the 8th book of the *Annales*, often referred to, *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* vi. 846; Ov. *Fasti*, ii. 241.

Noenum = *ne oinum*, 'not one thing,' the older form of *non*, just as *ne-hilum* and *nihil*. The word occurs twice in Lucretius, iii. 199, iv. 712. The MSS. give *nōn ĕnĭm* which would be scanned as a dactyl. Lachmann suggested *noenum*, and most editors have adopted it.

rumores, 'fame'; others understand it as the 'murmurs' of the citizens at his delay.

ponebat. See note on *versāt*, § 1.

priusque, 'both in days of old, and still more now.' I prefer this reading of Bergk and Sommerbrodt to the other two: (1) *plusque*, *i.e.* 'more and more'; (2) *postque*, *i.e.* 'the more the later,' both of which seem to me unnatural.

claret. A word never found in prose, and rare in poetry.

11. Salinatori. Both here, and again in De Orat. ii. 273, Cicero makes the same mistake. We gather from Livy that it was M. Livius Macatus, not M. Livius Salinator, who held the citadel. Cicero was probably misled by the identity of

the two first names. The two men were kinsmen. Livy and Plutarch tell us that the retort was made in a senate-house debate, when a discussion arose as to whether Macatus did or did not deserve punishment.

toga, 'civil life.' Cf. 'cedant arma *togae*.' Look up the various senses of the word.

quiescente, 'took no part.'

Carvilio. Two points of interest are connected with this man. He was the conqueror of Sardinia and Corsica, and he proposed the representation of the Latin communities after the battle of Cannae, B.C. 216.

Flaminio. He fell at L. Trasimenus, B.C. 217. He proposed to plant plebeian colonies in the territory wrested from the Senonian Gauls near Ariminum.

auctoritatem, 'a resolution,' as distinguished from *consultum*, 'a decree.' The senators were averse to all such proposals as this. They were loth to create a large middle class, and were afraid of exciting the hostility of the Gauls on the frontiers.

dividenti = *qui dividebat.*

cum esset, '*though* he was augur.'

auspiciis. For the sentiment cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 243:

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

12. tulit, not *tulerit.* Why?

laudatio, 'funeral-oration,' ἐγκώμιον. Fabius pronounced it himself. These *laudationes* were often quoted by historians, but are not trustworthy.

philosophum, in allusion to the many philosophical treatises on sorrow and death.

Multae litterae, 'great knowledge of literature.'

divinarem, 'as if I had a presentiment.'

13. scribens, or, as others say, at a wedding. Plato was born B.C. 429, died 347.

Isocratis, a professor of rhetoric, first in Chios, then at Athens. He committed suicide by starvation on hearing that the Athenians were defeated at Chaeronea, B.C. 338. Milton alludes to him in Sonnet X.:

'That dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Kill'd with report *that old man eloquent.*'

Panathenaicus, a treatise in praise of Athens.

Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily (B.C. 485-380), visited Athens and Thessaly in his old age. Plato's great dialogue *Gorgias* is named after him. He was a master of extempore speaking.

14. vicit, Greek Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν. Cf. 'coronari Olympia,' (Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 50). Grk. στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια.

confectus. See note on *plenus*, § 1.

probe meminisse potestis. Notice the metrical rhythm. Cicero as a rule avoided this. In *Orator* 57 he says, 'neque *numerosa esse ut poema* neque extra numerum debet esse oratio.'

hi, *i.e.* 'the consuls of this year,' B.C. 150, the imaginary date of the dialogue.

Flamininus, son of the great T. Flamininus mentioned in i. § 1.

Caepione, etc., B.C. 169.

Voconiam, i.e. *lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus*, so called from the proposer, Q. Voconius Saxa, tribune. It contained two main provisions: (1) No one who possessed more than 100,000 sesterces could make a woman his heiress; (2) No one might leave to any person or persons sums which, taken together, were more than what he left his chief heir. The object of the law was to check the extravagance of women and the subdivision of property.

lateribus, 'lungs.'

suasi. See note on *suasor*, § 10.

15. avocet . . . faciat . . . privet . . . abeat. Why subj.? See note on *quod senserim*, § 4.

iuventute et viribus. Hendiadys: 'youthful vigour.'

quae administrentur=*tales ut.*

Paullus: at the age of 68 he conquered Perseus at Pydna, B.C. 168.

pater tuus. The Scipio of this dialogue was the son of Paullus, but was afterwards adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio. See Introduction.

socer. Cato's elder son married Aemilia, the younger daughter of Paullus. He fought at Pydna, and died two years before the supposed date of this dialogue.

Fabricius, the opponent of Pyrrhus—constantly cited as a type of honesty and simplicity.

Curius: M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of the Sabines and Pyrrhus; three times consul.

Coruncanius, the conqueror of the Etrurians during the war with Pyrrhus; the first plebeian who was appointed to the office of Pontifex Maximus.

cum, 'at the time when.' Hence with indic. mood.

16. **Claudius**: head of the great house of the Claudii; censor B.C. 312, when he made the Via Appia. Being too old to walk he was carried into the senate-house to oppose the peace with Pyrrhus.

ut . . . esset: *quod* with indic. is the more usual construction after *accedit*.

persecutus est, 'expressed.'

Quo, to be taken with *viai*.

Antehac, a disyllable by synizesis.

duos consulatus, *i.e.* B.C. 307, B.C. 296.

censor. As a rule a man never became censor till he had been consul. The usual order of promotion was quaestor, praetor, consul, censor.

17. **afferunt**, *i.e.* 'contribute nothing to the discussion.'

similes ut si. Cicero also uses *similes tanquam si*, but both constructions are uncommon.

quibus non modo, 'of which qualities old age is so far from being robbed, that it is even enriched by them.'

18. **tribunus**. There were six military tribunes in each legion, partly elected by the *comitia tributa*, partly by the general in command. Cato served in this position against Antiochus, B.C. 191, and won his spurs at the battle of Thermopylae by finding the way over the pass. See Introduction, § 4 (*a*).

legatus, 'staff-officer.' There was generally one to each legion. Cato acted as *legatus* to Glabrio in the same war against Antiochus.

consul, B.C. 195, in Spain, where he earned a triumph.

ante denuntio, 'I declare war by anticipation.' '*Delendam esse Carthaginem*' was Cato's refrain. It was B.C. 150 (the date of this dialogue) that he went with nine other

commissioners to see if Carthage was really meditating war, and came back with the green figs which he held up in the senate-house.

exscissam. Parse the word. *Excisam* is another, but less probable reading.

19. avi. What genitive? Cf. Verg. i. 30, 'Troas *relliquias Danaum.*' The elder Scipio conquered Carthage at Zama B.C. 202. His grandson destroyed Carthage in B.C. 146.

enim: understand 'No, for,' etc., as so often with Greek γάρ.

excursio, 'skirmishing'; **saltu,** 'sallies.'

hastis. *Pilis* would be more accurate, as the *pilum* had superseded the *hasta* before Cato's time.

20. amplissimum, 'most distinguished.'

senes, *i.e.* γερουσία. Twenty-eight in number, all over 60.

Cedo, fr. *ce,* 'here' (as in *hic-ce*), and *do,* 'give' or 'tell.' The plural is *cette* = *ce-date.*

qui. Parse this.

Naevi, born B.C. 270. A Campanian; attacked the noble families of Rome. His chief poem was on the Punic Wars.

temeritas. Read Bacon's essay on Youth and Age: 'Young men,' he says, 'are fitter to invent than judge, fitter for execution than counsel, and fitter for new projects than settled business.'

21. At, 'but you will say.'

perceperat, 'had got by heart.' Themistocles was renowned for his memory, and gained much popularity by this feat.

qui Aristides esset = *Aristiden,* 'to greet Aristides by mistake for Lysimachus.' Lysimachus was the father of Aristides.

sepulcra. It seems to have been a common superstition that reading epitaphs was injurious to the memory.

vadimonia, 'promises to appear in court.'

22. Quid, i.e. *tibi videntur.*

in claris, etc., 'in the case of distinguished men and those who have held public office,' *i.e.* statesmen as opposed to poets and philosophers who lead an unofficial life.

bonis. Parse the word. Cf. the phrase, '*interdicere alicui aquae et igni.*'

nostro more. This was a provision of the Twelve Tables. 'Sei fouriosos aut prodicos escit adcnatorum centiliomque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas estod.' 'If a man is mad or a spendthrift let his blood-relation and members of his *gens* take charge of him and his property.'

in manibus, 'was working at.'

23. Simonides of Ceos, born B.C. 556, died at 89, a lyric poet, and friend of Themistocles and Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse—author of the famous epitaph on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae.

Stesichorum, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily, B.C. 630-550; struck blind, we are told, for his libel on Helen of Troy, and restored by writing a Palinode or recantation.

Democritus, one of the earliest exponents of the Theory of Atoms; lived about B.C. 400, died at the age of 104; often called the 'laughing philosopher.'

Xenocrates, succeeded Speusippus as leader of the Academy.

Zeno of Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, lived B.C. 340, died at 98.

Cleanthes, the successor and pupil of Zeno. He taught that the Sun was the ruler of creation.

Diogenes, the Stoic (not the Cynic) came with Carneades as ambassador to Rome from Athens, B.C. 155, to ask for a remission of a fine inflicted on a Greek town by Rome. Cato, disgusted at the subtlety of Carneades, persuaded the senate to expel them from Rome.

agitatio vitae aequalis. As modern instances of this, 'energy co-extensive with life,' we may quote Michael Angelo, who completed his design of St. Peter's at 83; Hobbes, who translated the whole of Homer into English verse at 85; Titian, who painted three of his largest pictures at 87; Lord Lyndhurst, who made one of his longest and finest speeches at 88.

24. ista studia, *i.e.* poetry and philosophy.

condendis, 'in garnering produce.'

Sĕrīt ăr|bŏrĕs, quæ al|tĕrī sæc|lŏ prōsĭnt. This foot ⏑ – – is called baccheus.

Statius, *i.e.* Caecilius Statius, a Gaul by birth, considered one of the best Latin comic writers, died B.C. 168.

noster, 'our fellow-countryman.'

Synephebis, 'The Young Friends,' translated from Menander's poem of the same name.

25. Caecilius, *i.e.* Statius.

saeculo, dativus commodi, '*with a view to* a succeeding generation.'

illud idem, i.e. *dixit,* 'than the following remark of his elsewhere.'

Edepol, *e-* interjection, *de-* voc. of *deus, pol-* = Pollux.

videt, 'the fact that *one* sees,' subject indefinite, as '*on dit.*'

vitiosius, 'more defective.'

26. Sed, 'but to return to the point,' *i.e.* whether age unfits a man for work.

ut, 'how.'

senectus = *senex,* abstract for concrete. Cf. *interitum,* § 75.

cuiusque, i.e. *senis.*

molliens, 'engaged in just such pursuits of course as distinguished him in his younger days.'

Solonem. The verse alluded to is this pentameter:

γηράσκω δ' *aiei* πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

sic, to be taken with *quasi.*

arripui, 'took up,' as we say, or 'devoured.'

ea ipsa, *i.e.* the instances of old men already quoted.

exemplis, 'as illustrations.'

Quod fecisse, i.e. *addiscere,* 'to learn some new accomplishment.'

vellem, i.e. *si possem,* a suppressed protasis.

27. desidero, 'I miss.' Gk. ποθέω.

locus, 'commonplace.' Gk. τόπος.

vitiis, 'defects.'

quidquid agas, 'whatever *one* does.' The second pers. sing. of pres. subj. is often used in this indefinite sense.

contemptior, 'contemptible'; so *invictus* = 'invincible.'

Milo, date B.C. 511. He led the forces of his native town Croton against Sybaris, and subdued it. It is related of him that he carried an ox round the course at Olympia, and then ate it at one meal.

At hi quidem, 'Alas! these poor arms,' etc. It implies an ellipse, *e.g.* 'Would that I could join the athletes, but . . .'

Sex. Aelius, consul B.C. 198, wrote a famous commentary on the Twelve Tables. Ennius calls him '*egregie cordatus homo*,' and Cicero says, '*Iuris civilis omnium peritissimus*,' Brutus, xx. 78.

Coruncanius. See above, § 15.

modo, 'in later times.'

Crassus, consul B.C. 205, a great lawyer, died thirty-three years before the supposed date of the dialogue.

praescribebantur, 'legal advice was given,' *i.e.* in private audience.

prudentia, i.e. *iuris prudentia.*

28. Omnino, 'no doubt.'

canorum, 'the melodious ring grows more brilliant.'

est decorus, predicative, 'is suited to his years.'

remissus, 'unimpassioned.'

compta, 'subdued.' This use of the word is found in Quintilian, but not often in Cicero. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15, 'mitis ingenii et *comptae* facundiae.' Another reading is *composita*, which has the same meaning.

Scipioni, '*a* Scipio and *a* Laelius.'

29. ut adulescentes, an explanatory *ut* defining *illud*, though it comes under the general head of consecutive.

Cn. et P. Scip. Two brothers, who both died in Spain on the field of battle. Publius commanded at the Ticinus, B.C. 268, where his life was saved by his son Scipio Africanus. Cic. *Paradox.* i. 2, calls them 'propugnacula belli Punici.'

L. Aemilius, consul B.C. 216, fought and died at Cannae.

P. Africanus. He was Scipio's grandfather by adoption.

Etsi, 'and yet.' Cf. the use of *quamquam*, § 1.

30. apud, in the *Cyropaedia* (viii. 7. 6): *τοὐμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ἡσθόμην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον.*

senex: he was 70 years old.

Metellum, *i.e.* L. Caecilius Metellus, consul B.C. 251, the opponent of Hasdrubal in Sicily. His statue was placed on the Capitol for saving the Palladium when the Temple of Vesta was in flames.

31. ut, 'how.'

Homerum. *Il.* i. 249:

τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή
τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφθίαθ'.

dux ille, *i.e.* Agamemnon, *Il.* ii. 371:

αἲ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν·
τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος.

nusquam, 'nowhere else in Homer.'

Aiacis, the genitive after *similes* is the commoner usage in Cicero.

32. queo. We do not often find *queo*, as here, without a negative.

quaestor, in Sicily, B.C. 205.

fuerim: the subjunctive, because *quibus* is generic, 'of such a kind as I had.'

depugnavi: the indic., as simply expressing the time when.

rostra, the platform in the Forum for addressing popular assemblies.

clientes. Every plebeian chose a patrician to act as his *patronus*, to whom he might apply as *cliens* in danger or trouble.

fieri. The infin. sometimes follows *moneo* in the best Latin writers when the warning is given *generally* without reference to a particular person.

convenire, 'to call upon me.'

fuerim, subj. after *cui* = *ut ei*.

33. At, 'but you will say.'

Moderatio, 'a right application.'—Reid.

ne, 'truly'; this word is always followed by a pronoun in Cicero.

utare: jussive subjunc. used with the present tense when the command is not addressed to a definite person.

ne requiras. Here again the subject is *indefinite*, and hence we have the present instead of the perfect subjunctive. Cf. Hor. *Od.* II. xi. 4:

Nec trepides in usum
Poscentis aevi pauca.

But there are other cases where *ne* with the second person of the present subjunctive bears a different sense, *e.g.* 'Ne sis patruus mihi' (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 87), or 'Ne forte credas,' etc. (Hor. *Od.* iv. 9. 1). In these passages *ne* = 'lest,' and you must supply from the context some such words as '(I tell you this) lest.'

Cursus. 'Life has a definite career to run, and nature has one course, and that with only one round, and each section of life has its own seasonable character.'

constantis, 'middle age.'

naturale, 'a natural peculiarity which ought to be noticeable at its proper time.'

34. Masinissa. The Numidian king who deserted the Carthaginians for the Romans in B.C. 206. He was a great friend of the elder Scipio, and was handsomely rewarded by him.

siccitatem, 'hard condition,' as we say of a man in training. It means literally freedom from humours, perspirations, etc.

ne . . . quidem, 'no, nor are.'

non modo, with a negative following = *non modo non.*

35. commune, 'common to weak health.'

valetudo = good or bad health according to the context.

illud = *ille*, but is attracted to the gender of *lumen*. Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 70: 'Epicurus *hoc* enim vestrum lumen est.'

ad paternam, 'in addition to the great soul of his father, he possessed rich stores of learning.'

36. ratio, 'regard to the laws of health.' Cicero seems to be thinking of the χρυσᾶ ἔπη, or Golden Verses, attributed to Pythagoras:

οὐδ' ὑγιείης τῆς περὶ σῶμ' ἀμέλειαν ἔχειν χρή·
ἀλλὰ πότου τε μέτρον καὶ σίτου γυμνασίων τε
ποιεῖσθαι.

opprimantur, 'stupefied.'

Caecilius, *i.e.* Statius in his Ἐπίκληρος or Heiress.

comicos, 'the dotards of comedy.'

petulantia, 'impatience.'

levium, 'of no weight,' 'trifling.'

37. tantam, i.e. *quanta fuit,* 'his large house.'

imperium, *i.e.* by virtue of the *Patria potestas,* which allowed the head of a family unlimited authority.

38. Ita honesta, 'can only maintain its dignity if.'

emancipata. This word, as Reid points out, is strictly used of property (*mancipium*) changing hands. Hence *emancipari* may bear two meanings apparently contradictory: (1) to leave the service of another and become your own master, *i.e.* to be freed, *e.g.* 'Filio quem in adoptionem D. Silano *emancipaverat,*' Cic. *de Fin.* i. 7. 24. ; *or* (2) it may mean, as it does here, 'to lose your own freedom and pass into another's service,' *i.e.* to be enslaved. e.g. *emancipatus feminae* (Hor. *Epod.* 9. 12.) of Antony and Cleopatra. Hence there is no need to adopt the reading *mancipata.*

Septimus, *i.e.* the last book of his great work.

est in manibus, 'I am engaged upon'; the phrase bears a different sense in § **12.**

cum maxime, 'with more energy than ever.'

civile, *i.e.* as opposed to religious law.

Pythagor. more, a reference to the Golden Verses spoken of above, § **36.** The lines run thus—

μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι
πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν,
πῇ παρέβην ; τί δ' ἔρεξα ; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη ;

Adsum, 'I appear in court on behalf of my friends.'

ultro, 'before my opinion is asked,' *i.e.* by the chairman of the senate.

lectulus, 'study sofa.' So Horace says—

Neque enim cum *lectulus* aut me
Porticus excepit desum mihi.—*Sat.* i. 4. 133.

viventi, object of *obrepat.*

sensim : notice the alliteration.

exstinguitur, 'goes out like a light in process of time.'

39. **quod dicunt** = *quod, ut dicunt, caret.*

aetatis, *i.e.* old age.

Archytae. A philosopher and statesman about B.C. 400, a friend of Plato. Horace alludes to him, *Od.* i. 28:

Maris et terrae numeroque carentis arenae Mensorem.

capitaliorem, 'more deadly.'

cuius, object of *ad potiendum*; others take it with *avidae.*

40. **impelleret,** i.e. *homines,* subjunctive after the generic *quod*= *ut ad id,* though in any case it would be subj. as a subordinate clause in the *Oratio Obliqua.* Tr. 'which the lust of pleasure did not urge men to undertake.'

41. **Caudino,** B.C. 321, in the second Samnite war.

Nearchus. He instructed Cato in the doctrines of Pythagoras. During the invasion of Hannibal he was loyal to Rome.

cum quidem, to be taken in conjunction with *locutum.*

venisse. Plato made three visits to Italy and Sicily to study the philosophy of Pythagoras, and the last of these was probably in B.C. 361. The consulship of Camillus and Claudius was B.C. 349, two years before Plato's death, so that Cicero seems to have made a mistake.

42. **efficeret, ut,** 'which makes Will coincide with Duty.'

consilium, 'reflection.'

feci ut eicerem = *eieci.*

fuisset, by attraction to *eicerem.*

notandam, in reference to the 'nota censoria,' or mark with which the censor struck senators off the roll.

feriret. Livy tells us that Flamininus killed him with his own hand.

quae coniungeret, 'seeing that it combined.'

43. **Cinea,** the ambassador of Pyrrhus, a pupil of Demosthenes.

quendam. No doubt Epicurus is meant. It is to be remembered that he used pleasure in its widest and best sense, and taught that any action was right which on the whole produced more pleasure than pain. His disciples distorted his doctrine, and used pleasure in its narrow and sensual meaning.

profiteretur, 'who was a professional philosopher.'

ad, 'to the standard of.'

P. Decius Mus. There were *three* of this name who devoted themselves to Tellus and Manes in battle for Rome—(1) at Capua against the Latins, B.C. 340; (2) at Sentinum against the Samnites, B.C. 295; (3) in the war with Pyrrhus. It is the second who is referred to here. See Liv. x. 28.

natura pulchra, *φύσει καλὸν.*

sua sponte, 'for its own sake'; *ὃ δι' αὐτὸ αἱρούμεθα.*

optimus quisque. Gk. *ὁ σπουδαῖος.*

44. aliquid, 'some concession.'

escam, Plat. *Timaeus,* 69 D, *ἡδονὴ κακοῦ δέλεαρ.*

devicerat, at Mylae, B.C. 260. Notice the pluperfect tense, which is due to the past tense *videbam.* 'Who had lately conquered when I saw him.'

quae sibi, 'a distinction which he assumed without precedent as a private citizen (*i.e.* when holding no public office), such was the extraordinary privilege he earned by renown.' Cf. Livy, *Epit.* xvii.: 'Ei perpetuus honos habitus est ut *revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur.*'

45. habui sodales, 'enjoyed club life.'

Sodalitates. These brotherhoods or societies were usually composed of members belonging to the same *gens*; their object seems to have been partly festive and partly religious.

Magna Mater, *i.e.* Cybele. Her image was brought by command of the Sibylline Books from Pessinus in Phrygia in B.C. 204, and was received at Rome by Scipio Nasica.

Idaeis, from Mount Ida in Phrygia.

aetatis = *iuventutis.*

compotationes. The same remark is found, Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 24. 3: 'Sapientius nostri quam Graeci illi *συμπόσια* aut *σύνδειπνα,* id est *compotationes* aut concenationes, nos convivia.'

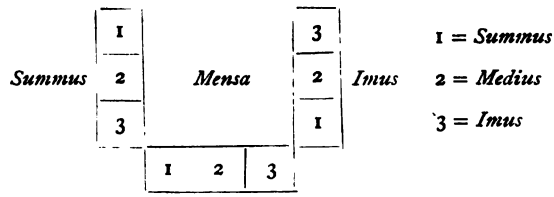
46. tempestivis, 'before the usual hour,' *i.e.* three o'clock. Such feasts were regarded as a sign of dissipation.

ne videar, *i.e.* 'and I say this *lest.*'

naturalis, 'a certain measure required by nature.'

magisteria, 'presidencies,' *i.e.* the office of *arbiter bibendi*, or *συμποσιάρχος*. Reid thinks it means the chairmanship of the Sodalitates.

a summo, 'which is started from the end of the *lectus summus*.' The wine-cup, song, or topic of conversation was started from the outermost place on the left (*Summus a Summo*, see drawing), and passed to the right; it was the place usually occupied by the youngest guest present. Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* v. 2. 41, 'Da, *puere, ab summo*.' The couches were arranged thus—



Symposio, a description of a feast given by Callias, an Athenian, in honour of Socrates.

minuta atque rorantia, 'small cups which are drunk in mere drops.' Xen. *Symp.* ii. 26, *ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψεκάζωσι.*

47. titillatio, 'thrill,' or 'tingling,' a translation of the Epicurean word *γαργαλισμός*.

Di meliora. Plat. *Rep.* 329 c: *εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἀσμεναίτατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγών.*

Quamquam, 'and yet he suffers no loss who feels no regret, and so I affirm that this freedom from regret is the happier state.' For *hoc non desiderare* cf. Pers. i. 9, 'Nostrum *istud vivere* triste.' Observe the hexameter rhythm which begins at *quamquam*.

48. bona aetas = *iuventus*.

Ambivio. L. Ambivius Turpio, a contemporary of Cato, famous as an actor and stage manager. He brought out several of Terence's plays. The *cognomen* is placed in front of the *nomen* as the *praenomen* Lucius is omitted.

cavea, 'in the front row.' The *cavea* was the part of the theatre where the spectators sat. It was divided into three tiers, *ima* or *prima*, *media*, *summa* or *ultima*. The first was the post of honour, and was occupied by the equites.

propter, adv. = *propiter*, 'close by.'

49. **quanti**, 'how precious a blessing is this, I mean that the mind,' etc.

emeritis, 'served its last campaign.'

Gallus. C. Sulpicius Gallus. Before the battle of Pydna (B.C. 168) in the war against Perseus he foretold an eclipse, and so saved the Roman army from being demoralised by superstition.

oppressit, 'surprised'; so *offendo*, *occupo*.

50. **Naevius.** See on § 20.

Truculento . . . Pseudolo. *The Bully* and *The Liar*, two comedies of Plautus, so called from the character of the principal slave.

Livius, *i.e.* L. Andronicus, a Greek slave captured at Tarentum, B.C. 275. He was Rome's first playwright, and his translation of the *Odyssey* was a popular school-book for Roman children.

docuisset, 'brought out a play,' lit. 'taught the actors their parts.' Gk. διδάσκειν.

processit, 'lived on.'

Crassus. See above, § 27.

Scipionis, *i.e.* P. Corn. Scipio Nasica Corculum. This last cognomen was given him on account of his legal ability.

Cethegus, consul B.C. 203, and defeated Mago, Hannibal's brother.

Suadae. Suadae = Πειθώ. The line referred to is—

Flos delibatus populi *Suadaeque medulla.*

Ennius elsewhere speaks of his 'suaviloquenti ore.'

comparandae. The gerundive is only used in the sense of *possibility*, with actual or, as here, implied negatives.

Solonis. See above, § 26.

51. **accedere**, 'to accord very closely with.'

rationem, 'they have to settle accounts with' as debtor and creditor.

imperium. So Tac. *Germ.* 26, 'Sola terrae seges *imperatur.*'

subacto, 'broken up' by the plough.

occatio. Cicero's etymology is at fault; *occaecatio* is connected with *caecus*, *occatio* with *occa*, 'a harrow.'

deinde tepefactum, etc. 'Then when the earth has heated it with its warm embrace, it expands and elicits the green shoot bursting from it. This by the support of fibrous roots gradually grows up, and, standing straight on its jointed stem, by and by is wrapt in a sheath as though it were now fully grown.'

52. **ut . . . noscatis**: *ut* depends on some such words as *hoc dico* understood.

malleoli, 'hammer-cuttings,' so called from their shape.

plantae, 'slips for planting out.'

sarmenta, 'vine-cuttings,' taken from the tendrils, not the main stem.

viviradices, 'quickset plants,' formed by dividing the parent root.

propagines, 'layers,' *i.e.* new plants made by bending down the lower shoots of a tree into the soil and leaving them to 'strike.' Cp. Verg. *Geor.* ii. 26, 'Aliae pressos *propaginis* arcus exspectant'; and again, *Geor.* ii. 63, 'melius *propagine* vites respondent.'

serpentem, 'and if it creeps with intricate and erratic windings.'

silvescat, 'run to wood,' as we say.

53. **in eis,** *i.e. sarmentis*, 'the shoots left after pruning.'

exsistit, 'buds out.' Not to be confused with *exstat.*

gemma, 'eye.' Elsewhere called 'oculus.' Greek ὀφθαλμός.

fructu: why ablative?

iugatio, 'fastening the top shoots' to the cross-bar which joined the uprights. See Rich's Dictionary, *s.v.* 'Jugatio.'

religatio, 'tying the vines to the upright,' *or* perhaps 'binding the layers down.'

immissio, 'permission to grow freely'; others understand it in the sense of 'grafting.'

repastinationes, 'constant dibbling' with a *pastinum* or two-pronged dibble or fork.

54. cum, 'though.'

Laërten. Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 224:

τὸν δ' οἷον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐν ἀλωῇ
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν.

Cicero makes a slip in translating λιστρεύοντα, 'digging,' by *stercorantem.*

55. Possum. We should rather say 'I could,' not 'I can.' Cp. such a phrase as 'longum *est* enumerare.'

ne videar. What must you supply here? See § **52,** *noscatis.*

vitiis videar vindicare. What device of style is seen here?

56. attulissent. It was rather an offering of gratitude than a bribe, as it was not brought till the war was over.

dictatorem. Cincinnatus was twice dictator—(1) B.C. 458, when he was summoned from the plough to fight the Aequi; (2) B.C. 439, when appointed to suppress the rising of Sp. Maelius, who was suspected of aiming at royal power because he had given corn to the people during a famine.

iussu. Livy (iv. 14) tells us that Maelius refused to appear before Cincinnatus in answer to a charge of conspiracy.

occupatum. Gk. φθάσας ἀπέκτεινεν.

officio, 'good service.'

cultura, *i.e.* the worship of Faunus, Silvanus, Terminus, etc., and such festivals as the Suovetaurilia.

ut . . . redeamus, 'and this I say to prove that we may agree about pleasure, as some of our objectors (see § **39**) regret the loss of it.'

Iam hortum, 'Moreover.'

succidiam, 'a second flitch,' *i.e.* their garden became as necessary to them as their bacon.

aucupium. 'Fowling and hunting lend a fresh piquancy to these (serious) duties by occupation which is (pleasant but unnecessary.'

57. quem fruendum. This construction reminds us that *fruor* could at one time govern an accusative case.

58. clava, 'single-stick.'

pila. There were various forms of games with a ball in vogue among the Romans, the commonest of which was the 'follis.' One player threw the ball, and his opponent struck it with his arm, which was covered for the purpose with leather from wrist to elbow.

tali. ἀστράγαλοι. Oblong knuckle-bones, round at both ends, and only numbered on *four* sides. Four were thrown at once.

tesserae. κύβος, 'dice,' numbered on *six* sides. Three were thrown at a time. When all the numbers came out the same from the dice-box (*fritillus*) the throw was called *Canis*, when all different, *Venus*.

id ipsum, understand 'faciant.' 'They may do that just as they choose.'

59. de tuenda, *i.e. Oeconomicus*. Cicero had translated it in his younger days.

regem, 'prince.' Cyrus was killed at Cunaxa, and never became king.

Cyrum minorem, etc. In English we should use the *Oratio Recta* throughout. When translating, be careful to break up the long sentences into shorter ones. Xen. *Oecon.* iv. (20-25).

communem atque humanum, 'was friendly and courteous.' Xen. φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.

agrum, 'a park,' παράδεισος.

quincuncem, arranged like the specks on a dice.

. . .
. . .

It was usual to plant trees in this design in Italy, and the Roman soldiers were drawn up in this way for battle.

subacto. See above, § **51.**

puram, 'cleared of stones.'

dimensa atque discripta. Xen. καταμετρήσαντος καὶ διατάξαντος.

For the passive use of *dimensus*, see on § **4.**

intuentem, ἀποβλέψας.

Persicum. So Hor. *Od.* i. 38, '*Persicos* odi puer apparatus.' Persian luxury was typical among the Greeks and Romans.

quoniam. Xen. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν εὐδαιμονεῖς.

60. **Corvinum,** so called from the aid he received from a raven in his duel with a Gaul, B.C. 349.

perduxisse, i.e. *studia agri colendi.*

quantum spatium. A man was liable to military service till his forty-sixth year.

apex, 'crown,' viz., the olive twig bound with wool which the priests wore in their caps.

61. **Metello.** See on § **30.**

Calatino, twice consul in the first Punic War.

elogium, 'epitaph.' This tomb, with those of Metellus and the Scipiones, was on the Appian Way just outside the Porta Capena.

Hunc unum. This was a common form on sepulchral monuments. So on L. Scipio's tomb we have—
'Honc oino ploirume consentiunt Romai duonoro optimo fuisse viro viroro, *i.e.* 'most men at Rome agree that this man alone was the best man of good men.'

Crassum. See on § **27.**

Lepidum. Pontifex, B.C. 180; he was chosen *princeps senatus* six times running.

Paullo. See on § **29.**

Maximo. See on § **10.**

sententia, *i.e.* 'a set speech in the senate.

honorata. See on § **22.**

62. **fundamentis,** 'a good foundation laid in the days of youth.'

cani, i.e. *capilli.* Reid compares *calda* (i.e. *aqua*); *lanea* (i.e. *corona*); *natalis* (i.e. *dies*).

extremos, *i.e.* influence is the *latest* reward it earns.

63. **decedi assurgi,** 'that people should make way for you and rise in your presence.' These verbs are impersonal.

deduci, 'to be escorted to the senate-house.'

ludis, 'at the time of the games.'

qui . . . consederant is in parenthesis, otherwise *consederant* would be in the subjunctive.

64. **multiplex,** 'round after round of applause.'

principatum, 'the privilege of speaking first.'

honore antecedentibus, 'those who have precedence by having held office in the past.'

cum imperio, 'those actually in office.' The consuls and praetors alone had the *imperium* or military power, which was conferred on them by the Comitia Curiata.

corruisse, 'to have broken down.'

65. anxii, 'nervous.'

difficiles, 'testy.'

si quaerimus, 'for the matter of that.'

illius quidem. In English we cannot translate the pronoun, but in Latin it is generally inserted before a concessive *quidem*: 'which, though not reasonable, is one we may perhaps allow.'

offensio, 'sense of injury,' in a passive signification.

dulciora, 'easier to bear.'

Adelphis. In Terence's play *The Brothers*, Micio represents *duritas* or ill-temper; Demea, *comitas* or indulgence.

66. qui . . . viderit, 'for failing to see.' Why is *viderit* subj.?

tertium. In the *Tusculans*, i. 82, which Cicero wrote the year before he wrote this treatise, the third alternative, viz., a life of pain, is rejected as impossible, on the ground that the Creator would never have made his creatures if eternal misery was in store for them after death.

67. cui sit exploratum, 'who is quite sure that he will still be living at eventide.'

tristius, 'they require severer treatment.'

quod ni, *i.e.* 'if so many people did not die early.'

senectutis. Why the genitive?

68. filio. Cato's elder son died B.C. 152, when praetor-elect.

fratribus. The two brothers referred to died at the early age of twelve and fourteen. They were the heirs of Aemilius Paullus, as his two elder sons had been adopted into other families.

quod sperare, 'whereas an old man cannot have the same expectation,' lit. 'which same thing an old man,' etc.

At est, 'of course, but.'

69. supremum tempus, 'the longest tenure of life.'

Arganthonius. Herod. i. 163: *ἐτυράννευσε δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν.*

consecutus sis. Why subj.? See on § **21.**

70. Neque enim. 'For an actor need not play right through the piece to please his audience, provided that he gives satisfaction in his own part; nor will a wise man feel bound to wait till applause be called for,' *i.e.* to see how everything he cares for will end.

peragenda: for the gerundive see on § **50.**

plaudite, the word addressed to the audience with which a Latin play ended. Hor. *A. Poet.* 153:

'Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
Sessuri donec cantor *vos plaudite* dicat.'

accommodate, 'correspond to.'

71. ante partorum: to be taken together.

quasi . . . evelluntur. This is contrary to the ordinary classical usage, which omits the verb with *quasi* when it = *quemadmodum*. It is found in Lucretius and Plautus, *e.g. Aulul.* iv. 1. 6, 'qui amanti hero servit *quasi ego servio*.' We may compare our irregular use of the word 'like,' *e.g.* 'He does this like I do.' See note on *adeptam*, § **4.**

72. certus. Life was divided by the Romans into various stages, of which *senectus* was the last. The meaning is: Age has less anxiety and responsibility about the future than youth, and so is bolder.

Hoc illud est. 'This is the meaning of.'

qua tandem. Notice this use of *tandem* for emphasising a question in Latin.

audaciter, an archaism for *audacter*. See *adeptam*, § **4.**

mente . . . sensibus. Explain the ablatives.

coagmentavit . . . construxit, 'constructed . . . cemented.' Cicero affected the use of metaphorical verbs.

Iam, 'Besides.' Gk. *νῦν.*

73. This sentiment is expressed by a disciple of Pythagoras in Plato's *Phaedo*, 61 A: *ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ*

οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν. To this passage Tennyson alludes in *Lucretius*:

'Whether I mean this day to end myself,
Or lend an ear to Plato where he says
That men, like soldiers, may not quit the post
Allotted by the gods.'

Stoics dissented from this view, and held that suicide was perfectly right under certain circumstances, and many distinguished Stoics, like Cato and Seneca, perished in this way.

Solonis sapientis. 'Solon the wise,' *not* 'wise Solon,' which would be 'Solonis viri sapientis.'

elogium. Plutarch gives it thus:

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

Cicero has translated it in *Tuscul.* i. 117:

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis: linquamus amicis
Maerorem ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

se esse carum, 'that he may be regarded dear,' not the same as *esse carus*.

haud scio an: affirmative, 'I am inclined to think.'

lacrumis. Bergk reads 'dacrumis,' which gives a fresh alliteration to the line, but it is supported by no MS. in any passage where the line is quoted.

Faxit. The line ended thus:

Faxit: Cur? volito vivus per ora virum.

See on § 1 for the form *faxit*.

For the sentiment, compare M. Arnold's beautiful lines:

'Strew on her roses, roses,
But never a spray of yew.'

74. meditatum, passive deponent. See on § 4, § 59.

ab adulescentia, 'from youth onwards.'

incertum an: affirmative, as *haud scio an*, above. 'Perhaps on this very day.'

qui = *quomodo*. Look out Lucr. iii. 30-90, where there is a fine passage on the fear of death:

Metus ille foras praeceps Acheruntis agendus,
Funditus humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo
Omnia suffundens mortis nigrore.

timens, conditional, 'if he is in terror.'

75. L. Brutum, etc. I prefer to take these as objects of *recordor*. Reid regards them as subjects of an infinitive corresponding to *profectas* lower down.

Brutum, the founder of the Republic: he died while fighting in single combat with Aruns, the son of Tarquin, when the latter was attempting to recover the throne.

Decios. See on § **29**.

Atilius. The famous M. Atilius Regulus, who returned to Rome from Carthage on 'parole': 'deinde cum retineretur a propinquis et ab amicis ad supplicium redire maluit quam fidem hosti datam fallere.' Cic. *de Offic.* c. 39. See also the well-known passage in Hor. *Od.* iii. 5.

Scipiones. See on § **29**.

collegae, *i.e.* Terentius Varro, who hurried on the battle at Cannae B.C. 216, and then fled, leaving L. Paullus to die on the field.

Marcellum. After capturing Syracuse, B.C. 212, he was caught in 208 by an ambuscade, and killed. 'Hannibal Marcelli corpus sepelivit,' Livy xxvii. 28.

cuius interitum = *quem interitum*, abstract for concrete. Cf. *senex*, § **26**.

sed legiones, etc., is a passage from the *Origines*, and is quoted again, *Tusc.* i. 42. 101.

76. Omnino, 'doubtless.'

ne quidem, like *οὐδέ*, often = 'neither' rather than 'not even.'

77. munere necessitatis, 'a duty laid on us by fate.'

qui tuerentur, 'beings to guard.'

contemplantes. This duty of contemplating Nature was insisted on by the Stoics as a means to obtain moderation and resignation. So Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 14: 'Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum.' So M. Arnold, in his poem 'Self-Dependence':

> 'Ah, once more,' I cried, 'ye stars, ye waters,
> On my heart your mighty charm renew;
> Still, still let me, as I gaze upon you,
> Feel my soul becoming vast like you!'

Read also Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty,' especially the stanza beginning 'Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear.'

modo, 'the moderation and fixity of their existence.'

78. delibatos, 'morsels from the all-embracing spirit of the gods.' So Diog. Laert. viii. 28: *ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀθανάτου.*

oraculo. *Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς· σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,*
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

So runs the oracle as given by Schol. on Arist. *Nubes*, 144. But as most oracles were given in hexameter metre it is probably spurious.

tanta celeritas, 'such versatility of mental power,' that is to say, such memory,' etc.; *tanta memoria . . . inventa* is explanatory of *celeritas*.

tantae scientiae, 'such varied knowledge.' *Scientia* is rarely used in the plural, but the proximity of *artes* and *inventa* accounts for it; others take it as a genitive dependent on *artes*, removing the comma after that word.

semper agitetur. So Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245 C: *ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ κίνητον ἀθάνατον μόνον δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπολεῖπον ἑαυτό, οὔ ποτε λήγει κινούμενον.*

quia se ipse moveat, 'as it is the author of its own movement, so it will not lose its movement, because it can never separate from itself.'

simplex, 'homogeneous,' *i.e.* one indivisible whole.

esset is the imperfect, to harmonise with the past tense of *persuasi*; others render 'seeing that the nature of the soul was not originally homogeneous.'

quod si non posset = *si id non posset fieri*, i.e. 'if the soul is not divisible.'

magno argumento, 'a cogent argument for man's immortality is that man,' etc.

reminisci. This is the Platonic doctrine of *Ἀνάμνησις*; or Reminiscence, which is the groundwork of Wordsworth's noble ode on the 'Intimations of Immortality.' Plato's argument was briefly this: Learning is really an act of remembrance, and so the right principle in teaching is to evoke, not to instil knowledge. We have, by *ἀνάμνησις*, the knowledge of a perfection which we do not find in this world, and we retain for a time in our earthly life the truths we knew in a former state of existence before we were born. If this is so, the inference is that as the soul existed before our birth it will continue to exist after our death.

79. neque enim. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7. § 17: οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τοι τήν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐωρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεπράττετο, τούτοις αὐτὴν ὡς οὖσαν κατεφωρᾶτε.

80. si nihil, 'if their souls had no influence in making us remember them longer.'

insipientem. Xen. ἄφρων.

purus et integer, ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρός.

sapientem, φρονιμώτατον.

unde orta, πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, 'returning to that with which they are related.'

82. nostra, viz., *Roman* instances.

esse conatos = *fuisse conaturos.* It is an imperfect and represents what would have been *conabantur* in *Oratio Recta.*

tantos labores. Cic. makes the same remark in *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. 33: 'Quo (*i.e.* augurium futurorum) quidem dempto quis tam esset amens qui semper ac laboribus et periculis viveret.' So again, *pro Arch.* § 29: 'Si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum . . . neque tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur.' Milton expresses the same thought in 'Lycidas':

> 'Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> (That last infirmity of noble mind)
> To scorn delights, and live laborious days.'

83. eos convenire. So Plato, *Apol.* 41, Socrates asks: Ὀρφεῖ συγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν τις δέξαιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν;

quo = *ad quos.*

Pelian, 'nor make me young again by boiling like another Pelias.' Cicero's mythology is wrong here. It was not Pelias, but Aeson, Jason's father, whom Medea made young again by cutting him up and boiling him; Medea indeed did advise the daughters of Pelias to treat their father in the same way, but the experiment was fatal.

largiatur, the pres. subj., because for argument's sake the supposition is regarded as possible.

carceres, the 'barriers,' behind which the chariots stood ready for the race. *Calx* was the chalked line which was drawn at the winning-post.

84. **habeat,** i.e. *aliquid commodi.*

satietatem, 'ennui,' 'a sense of limitation.'

multi et ii docti, as, for instance, Hegesias, a philosopher, who wrote a book called 'Αποκαρτερῶν.

hospitio. Life is an inn, man the guest. A similar image compares life to a banquet. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 118: 'Vita cedat uti conviva satur.' Lucret. iii. 938: 'Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis?'

devorsorium. Hebrews xiii. 14: 'Here we have *no continuing city*, but we seek one to come.'

85. **Catonem meum,** 'my son Cato.' See on § 16. Cf. Burke's words in speaking of his son: 'I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have succeeded me have gone before me; they who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors.'

quod contra, 'whereas on the contrary'; *quod* is an accus. of respect, *contra* is adverbial. Gk. *ὃ τοὐναντιον.*

decuit, understand *cremari* from *crematum.*

non quo, *i.e.* 'I was brave not because I bore it with indifference, but because I comforted myself,' etc.; *ferrem* subj. as the reason given is a false one, *sed=sed quia.*

86. **qui credam,** 'seeing that I believe.'

minuti, 'pigmy philosophers,' *i.e.* Epicureans as compared with Plato and Socrates. So in *Tusc.* i. § 39, he says: 'Errare mehercule malo cum Platone quam cum istis vera sentire.'

sentiam. Parse this.

defetigationem, 'a languid performance.'

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